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THE HAKO: A PAWNEE CEREMONY

By ALICE C. FLETCHER

PREFACE

In the early eighties of the last century, while pursuing my study of the Omaha tribe, I several times witnessed the ceremony described in the following pages. Owing to the death of the only man who knew all the rituals, it became impossible to secure a complete record, but as the ceremony was an intertribal one I hoped to make good the loss in some other tribe. From statements made by the Omahas, the Ponkas, and the Dakotas I was led to believe that among the Pawnees this ceremony could be found still preserved in its entirety. I need not recount the failure of efforts made during some fifteen years to gain the desired information, since at last, in 1898, I found the long-sought opportunity. After four years of work, I am able to present the entire ceremony, as observed in the Chaui band of the Pawnee tribe.

The difficulty of obtaining accurate first-hand information in regard to religious rites and beliefs is so well known that it seems proper to state briefly how I came by my opportunities. An extended and intimate acquaintance in one tribe opens the way in another. The warm friendship of old and leading men of the Omahas became my credentials to other tribes where these leaders were influential; and with the further assistance of Mr Francis LaFlesche, the son of the former head chief of the Omahas, I was able to establish relations of confidence with some of the old and prominent men of the Pawnees.

My experience has shown that no linguistic training will enable a student by himself to accomplish successfully the difficult task of recording and interpreting the rituals of a religious ceremony. He must have a native collaborator, one with a good knowledge of English and well versed in the intricacies of his own tongue, able to explain its "sacred language" and possessing those gifts of mind and character which fit him not only to grasp the ideals of his race but to commend himself to the keepers of the ancient rites. Such a collaborator makes a clear vision of the native mind possible to a student of another race.

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PREFACE

Acculturation, though a recent term which has yet to establish itself in dictionary usage, is a useful term for the processes by which aspects or elements of two cultures mingle and merge. Within this broad meaning, however, we should distinguish assimilation as of a separate character. Acculturation may be taken to refer to the ways in which some cultural aspect is taken into a culture and adjusted or fitted to it. This implies some relative cultural equality between the giving and receiving cultures. Assimilation, however, is the process of transforming aspects of a conquered or engulfed culture into a status of relative adjustment to the forms of the ruling culture. The problem of acculturation, when we are considering the American Indians in relation to their adjustment to European culture, is a problem of assimilation.

Assimilation and acculturation differ in another important way. In acculturation the cultural groups involved are in an essentially reciprocal relationship. Both give and take. As a result it is a valid problem to consider what is adopted and what not, and the whys and wherefores. In assimilation the tendency is for the ruling cultural group to enforce the adoption of certain externals, in terms of which superficial adjustment seems to be attained. The adopting culture is not in a position to choose. Its forms are often technically so inferior, particularly in material culture, that they tend to be obliterated at once by the technical products of the culture which engulfs them. In addition the ruled are generally ordered to do so and so, and to stop doing so and so. In this situation the only possible reactions are passive acceptance or active resistance and rejection. The study of assimilation of the American Indian must take into consideration the fact that American Indian culture has not met a culture of the same order of complexity or technical advancement, and that in the methods which have been used to assimilate the Indian, neither individually nor collectively as tribal groups were the natives brought into direct contact with our culture as such. They were offered, here and there, certain obvious externals. These externals are relatively superficial in relation to the values and standards of our culture, and could not replace the essential values of American Indian culture which were meanwhile destroyed.

In 1930 and 1931, while engaged in the study of Pawnee and Wichita ethnology in Oklahoma, I found it necessary to control

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114 the recent changes in religion and ritual. In doing so, the story of
121 the renaissance of culture which took place among the Pawnee under the stimulus of the Ghost Dance was pieced together. In presenting this material I have described the developments against the background of Pawnee history since white contact. This serves
121 to bring to light the motivations and influences which were stimulants of change. And in reference to the new forms which developed I have concentrated on the Ghost Dance hand games, the most important in terms of the emphasis made by the Pawnee themselves. The controlled consideration of the games in their changing forms has made it possible to consider the meaning of processes of change, and the inevitability of founding ethnological methodology on a metaphysic of history.

122 The field work among the Pawnee, of which this study is a specialized part, was carried out under a project supported by the Columbia Council for Research in the Social Sciences. This manuscript was in part prepared while I was Fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies. In addition to published material,
000 I have had the use of unpublished materials of James R. Murie, in the form of a manuscript by George A. Dorsey and James R. Murie, which was made available to me through the courtesy of Dr. Dorsey and Dr. Berthold Laufer of the Field Museum of Natural History; and I was also able to refer to a Bureau of Ethnology manuscript on the Ceremonies of the Pawnee, by James R. Murie, which was at the time being linguistically revised by Dr. Gene Weltfish. The use of these materials proved invaluable, not only for the work which has resulted in the present study, but also for the consideration of Pawnee religion which I hope to present in another year.

I cannot close these remarks without acknowledging my indebtedness to Professors Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict of Columbia University, who gave me the opportunity to make the field studies on which this work is based. I am also obligated to many Pawnee friends, and particularly to my chief informant, Mark Everts, a rare mind and a hearty friend, and Henry Chapman, whose help was important in this and other work. My wife, Dr. Gene Weltfish, has cooperated with me in countless ways. But most of all, I must express my intellectual obligations to Professors Franz Boas and John Dewey. For many years I have believed their conceptions of method to be basically in harmony, and in my own thought and work I have leaned heavily on their teachings.

October, 1932. Alexander Lesser.

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The first period of Nineteenth Century Pawnee relations with the white man and the United States government begins with the first contacts following the Louisiana purchase and ends with the treaty of 1833. The population of the tribe during this time is open to dispute, as no accurate figures are available. In 1804, Lewis and Clarke estimated the tribe at 4,000, but they were unacquainted with the Pitahawirat[a]. According to these explorers the tribe had suffered terribly from a smallpox epidemic the previous year which had greatly reduced their numbers. Pike in 1806 gave a count of 6,223 for the same three bands. Major S. H. Long, who visited the tribe on his travels in 1819, estimated their number at 6,500, still without knowing the Pitahawirat[a]. The first government figure appeared in 1834, just after the treaty of 1833 brought an agent, Dougherty, in contact with the tribe. He numbered the Pawnee at 12,500. This figure was carried on the government records for years, occasionally displaced by the estimate of the

[a] United States. Indian Affairs Office. Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington, 1824 to date. The series has been consulted throughout its entire run. Details of importance on the Pawnee begin with the report of 1837. Referred to in footnotes as Annual Reports.

Kappler, C. J. (Compiler). Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties. 2 volumes. Washington, 1903. 57 Congress, First Session. Document 452.

Royce, C. C. Indian Land Cessions in the United States. 18th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology.

I have also consulted:

Dunbar, J. The Pawnee Indians. Magazine of American History. 4: 241—281; 5: 321—385; 8: 734—756.

Grinnell, G. B. Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales.

Irving, J. T. Indian Sketches Taken during a U. S. expedition to make treaties with the Pawnee and other tribes of Indians in 1833. 1838, reprinted 1888.

Murray, C. A. Travels in North America, including a summer residence with the Pawnee tribe of Indians in the remote prairies of the Missouri. 2 volumes. 3rd. revised edition, London, 1854.

Oehler, C. F. and Smith, D. Z. Description of a Journey and visit to the Pawnee Indians. April 22-May 18, 1851. Reprinted from Moravian Church Miscellany of 1851—1852.

Tuttle, Sarah. History of the American Mission to the Pawnee Indians. Boston, 1838.

Williamson, J. W. The Battle of Massacre Canyon. The unfortunate ending of the last buffalo hunt of the Pawnees. Republican Leader, Trenton, Nebraska, 1922.

Where differences on dates and other important data have been encountered, the account presented has taken the information in the reports, year by year, as the final arbiter. All basic concrete data and interpretations are essentially restatements of source material; it has seemed unnecessary to introduce minute footnotes. Interpolated interpretations of the writer are [illegible].

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missionaries, Dunbar and Allis, who were first with the tribe from 1835 to 1837, and considered the government estimate too high, offering 10,000 as approximating the true population more closely. The discrepancies between these various figures are not severe. That of Lewis and Clarke, in spite of the decimation of the Pawnee the previous year, is probably too low, and may not have been intended to include all villages of all four bands. The computations of Pike and Long, based upon three of the four bands, indicates a total of close to 9,000 for the whole tribe. This last figure represents the approximate "normal" figure for the Pawnee tribes during the first period of the Nineteenth Century. There were without doubt major fluctuations in the numbers of the Pawnee during this period, and the trend of the tribal population was to diminish rather than increase. One general consideration, however, can hardly be open to question. At the opening of the Nineteenth century, the Pawnee bands together constituted one of the five or six large Indian tribal groups between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. They maintained themselves in spite of the hostility of practically every tribe in the region. In their aboriginal state their trade must have been severely limited by tribal feud. It is unlikely that they had economic dealings of any importance with tribes other than the Arikara, Mandan and Wichita. All the major indigenous peoples around them were continually in a state of conflict with them: the many groups of the Dakota Sioux on the north and northwest, the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne and Arapaho to the southwest, the Osage and Kansa to the south and southeast. Immediately to their east were the Omaha, Ponca and Oto, with whom a state of partial amity prevailed, born of the fear they had inspired in these tribes. Later in the century the Pawnee became close friends of the Omaha and Ponca. The Oto, given opportunity as the Pawnee declined, assaulted small parties of Pawnee on occasion, but later became friends of the Pawnee.

In the period which closed with the treaty of 1833 changes were taking place in the basic conditions of life of the Pawnee which were only to appear in their fullest effect in later periods. A tide of white emigration and transcontinental travel began to appear, moving westward, and swelling with the years. These emigrants brought white diseases into the midst of the Indian tribes, trampled their fields, hunted the buffalo for sustenance and pleasure, and keeping the herds of the plains in constant fear, limited the natural range and increase of the buffalo.

The diseases which the Pawnee acquired from white contact included, besides infantile diseases, venereal diseases, small-pox and

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life of Plains tribes was considered wild and barbaric by a people whose culture for centuries had been grounded on an agricultural economy. To tame and civilize the savage it was necessary to make them an agricultural people; and this was the more essential in that an agricultural economy would locate the tribes permanently in restricted areas and release wide reaches of land for the uses of the white man.

The Pawnee do not seem to have been in agreement about the removal. While the provisions of the treaty made the lands south of the Platte River ceded by the Pawnee a common hunting ground, still open to them, it confined their villages and farm lands to the north side of the river. Prior to this time the three bands of Teawi, Kitkahaxki[x] and Pitahawirat[a] had maintained their permanent village settlements south of the Platte, while only the Skiri band resided on the north. The Kitkahaxki[x] and Pitahawirat[a] accepted the terms of the treaty and removed, as well as some of the Teawi, but most of the Teawi refused to leave their homes on the south side of the river. This main Teawi village was below the Platte some miles west of the Bellevue settlement on the Missouri River. It was to this group that the other bands removed in 1846.

The exact year of final removal is not certain. In 1839 the bands asked aid in locating their permanent settlements on the north side, inasmuch as the land was to be cultivated according to white methods of farming, and must be suitable for such purposes. By 1841 all the Pawnee who accepted the treaty provision had removed. One large village was built together by the Pitahawirat[a], Kitkahaxki[x], and those Teawi who removed. The Skiri are not mentioned as building a new village from which we may infer that they probably continued at their old location.

In the midst of the difficulties attending the removal, the Pawnee were afflicted again by the smallpox. An epidemic broke out in 1838 and did not subside until a year and a half later. It is said to have been communicated to the Pawnee by some Dakota women captured by them in the spring of 1838. Great numbers of children perished in the epidemic, while the mortality rate among the adults was perceptibly lower. Nevertheless the total deaths must have considerably exceeded five hundred in the period of the

[1] Dunbar, in Magazine of American History, 4: 257, places the Kitkahaxki[x] 18 miles northwest of the mouth of the Loup River on the north side of the Loup, and the Pitahawirat[a] 11 miles above the mouth on the same side, as early as 1834. I have not found evidence to validate the location of these bands north of the Platte at this early date.

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668 177 seen them dancing in a circle.[1] Nothing authentic and substantiated reached the tribe, however, until the fall of 1891[2] when Frank White came home to the Pawnee after his stay with the Wichita.

The Pawnee tell of White's learning the Ghost Dance among the southern tribes in the following way:

668 177 796 "One time Frank White went over to the Comanche, who were dancing the Ghost Dance. He went inside and sat down on the north side. He ate peyote, a great deal, until he was nearly overcome. He bent his head and covered his eyes. He was a good-looking man who used to wear decorative red twine over his brow. [276 301] The Comanche did not know him, and the next morning they asked him who he was, and he said he was a Pawnee. Then he left them and went to the Wichita. He ate peyote there, and watched them dance the Ghost Dance and learned it. Then he came home and brought it to the South Bands. He told them what he had learned."

668 177 The period during which Frank White studied the Ghost Dance among the Comanche and the Wichita was in the year following the great Ghost Dance of the fall of 1890, led by Sitting-Bull. The forms of leadership and organization he learned were those preached by Sitting-Bull, and initiated by him personally among the Caddo and Wichita.

[787] Murie has spoken of White's experiences in the south. "Frank White... joined the dance. He went into a trance, saw the stream, the tree, the Messiah and then the village of people.[3] He also saw them dance, joined in, and learned some songs which were in [533 539] Pawnee. The first song was as follows[4]:

we	*rihi*	*irasi·ra*
now	place where	yonder you come

wetikuratu *ruwahe*

now I long for the {village / region}

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 630—632 recounts a long narrative of the story which was supposed to have reached the Pawnee in 1890.

[2] Murie, Societies, p. 633, says "in the fall of 1892." This is a misprint [114] or a slip on Murie's part. In the account which follows Murie describes events of a winter and summer which intervene between White's return to the Pawnee and his arrest; White was arrested in 1892. Furthermore, we can date the time White left the Wichita by the fact that he left before the Arapaho delegation arrived in the fall of 1891 with the message from Wovoka, which, in spite of the objections of Sitting-Bull, necessitated a change in the form of the Ghost Dancing.

[3] Murie is doubtless referring here to the narrative of Wovoka's vision as known to the Pawnee which he gives, pp. 630—632.

[4] The form I quote here is a retranscription and retranslation of Murie's printed version, written by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

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development of visions in which hand games and many similar sanctions were bestowed took place among the Pawnee. Carrion claims to have brought the inspiration for the hand game ceremonies from the Arapaho. With the liberation of the Pawnee Ghost Dance hand games began a rapid development (see part II).

While Carrion and others contend, as is usual in such cases among American Indian groups, that this difference of doctrine between White and the Arapaho indicated a conscious deception on the part of White, it is clear that no explanation of this kind need be invoked. Actually White's doctrine is much closer to generic Pawnee ideology, according to which the independent free vision of the individual is subordinated to a process of learning from one who knows a ritual, ceremony or performance. That is to say, in the older ancient Pawnee activities, the accepted method of obtaining participation was to receive the right or sanction to do so from those who were in charge of that activity, rather than directly from supernatural powers. In contrast to this, Carrion's doctrine looks a great deal like Plains patterns in general, which would be correct for Arapaho Ghost Dancing. It should be remembered in this connection, first, that White did not learn from Arapaho or other Plains tribes directly, but indirectly through the Wichita, whose ideas on these fundamental points are very close to Pawnee ideas, and second, that Carrion was not a Pawnee, although he lived most of his life among them and spoke a fluent Pawnee.

In a general way, also, the pattern of immediately telling the vision to the leaders and securing their interpretation, is a non-Pawnee pattern. In older forms, among both Wichita and Pawnee, visions were kept a secret for long, and only in the course of one's life because of one's behavior did the general public of the tribe become aware that one had supernatural experience. In the Ghost Dance doctrine, the visions had to be told at once to show appreciation for receiving them, and one who didn't tell was not supposed to live long thereafter.

It is not possible to date accurately the time of the reorganization of the Pawnee Ghost Dance to accord with the regular four-day dance forms of the southern tribes. I believe Murie has dated it far too late. The organization of the Seven Brothers among the Skiri, which initiated the freeing of the Skiri Ghost Dancing from White's control, took place before White's death in 1893. The first forms of Skiri dancing followed White's forms. On his visit to the Arapaho Carrion had observed both Ghost Dances and hand games as four-day ceremonies. Whether this was responsible for a correction

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668 of Pawnee forms, or whether the Wichita taught the Pawnee
177 directly, the four-day ceremony was the formal Ghost Dance
14 among the Pawnee by 1895.

This regular Ghost Dance of the Pawnee was arranged to last
668 four days. It began the evening of one day, or the late afternoon.
184 Among the South Bands, all arose early in the morning, and faced
796 the sun for a brief period, (during which the smoke offering would
786 be made if the dance was to begin that day); but they did not dance. Then in the afternoon the people danced from three to midnight. The Skiri say that in their band there was a brief period of dancing each morning, as well as a longer period of dancing through the afternoon and evening. Both bands continued the fourth night until the dawn of the fifth day, bathed and dispersed.

As each song was sung, the circle of dancers, holding hands, moved clockwise through one complete circuit, returning to the original starting point. This is determined by the main singer's position: he begins at the west and finishes at the west (except for the first afternoon song, as above). During the dancing period of the day, the dancers could carry out as many songs as they wished; there was no special number. The singing was initiated and led by the seven crow-feathered singers, and the others joined in. While the dancing went on, some "hypnotizers" would dance inside the circle directly in front of individuals they wished to throw into a trance, using feathers or other objects to focus and fix the eyesight of the subject, thus transfixing them. Usually the subject fell when he or she was touched with the object used. When individuals fell into a trance, they were laid down and the others continued to dance.

668 In these trances, the visionaries followed a general pattern. In
787 one way or another the subject was guided to the other world,
796 where all the deceased Pawnee were living together in the old way. There some special phase of the life would imprint itself upon the subject's mind, the playing of games, the hunting of buffalo, war societies and dances, and the like. When the subject awoke, such aspects of the trance vision, along with the bird or messenger who had guided the individual to the beyond, would become the subjects of songs, costuming, and paraphernalia.

The closing song was carried out in a special way. It is the
668 special closing song of all Ghost Dances. As sung to conclude the
796 occasion, it is repeated six times as follows:
533 1. The leader remains stationary at the west facing east, and leads the singing of the song once; all the dancers keep their places.

2. The leader dances from west to north, singing the song, and

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668 796 533 that a suggestion of the Wichita was in part responsible for Mrs. Washington's determination to organize the Ghost-Dancing with regular singers while the Wichita were present.

Frank White died in 1893, and he is known to have been alive at the time Mrs. Washington inaugurated these developments, which places the time of the first Seven Eagle Brothers as sometime in late 1892 or early 1893.

668 792 796 787 As one informant describes Mrs. Washington's activities: "When they used to dance among the South Bands, all would go there, and while the dancing went on, old Mrs. Washington fell in a trance. She found out something about the Seven Brothers, but not everything right away. Afterwards, every time she fell she would see something about the Seven Brothers.[1] The spirit told her to go ahead and put up the Seven Brothers. She used to have her own cattle. Once when they came home from the dancing, she was told that when she got home she should put up the Seven Brothers at a dance. So she killed her own beef, and put up the dance, and they told her how to go, everything, the smoke and all."

Mrs. Washington put up a special feast. She asked the chiefs and these seven men to be present, as well as others. Each of the seven sat on the south side with the eagle feather given him by Knifechief stuck into the ground before him. Along the north side were congregated the "crow" people, including those who played as "crows" in the hand games, as well as the men who later were organized into the Seven Crows; while along the south side the "eagle" people sat. As yet, however, there was no "crow" organization: the "crows" were merely an amorphous group who played the hand game together, and who had this affiliation because of Ghost Dance experiences.

Mrs. Washington stood at the doorway of the tipi. Up to this time she had been learning. Now she spoke, "Now, I want to tell you what I have in mind. We are going to have a Ghost Dance. A spirit told me to do it. I am going to do it today. These Seven Brothers are going to take the lead for us, and we're going to call them Fathers. Now I want you chiefs to decide when we should begin the dance."

527 574 Then the chiefs talked together and decidgl and one announced, "Let us move the camp and all come together on the third day." This inaugural feast was not a ceremonial affair. After the decision of the chiefs was announced all those present partook of the feast provided by Mrs. Washington; this concluded the occasion

[114]

[1] This "serial story" form of learning in visions is the sort of thing about Mrs. Washington's claims that Carrion resented; see above.

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796 A song recorded by Effie Blane[1] reports a vision of a boy crying
533 for his mother, and asking from the depths of his sorrow, if his
539 mother is really to return to him:

piraski *rawakakawitiku*
boy crying sits down
piraski *rawakakawitiku*
atira *kawe rá̰à·hu*[2] *atira kawe rá̰à·hu*
mother is she coming now, mother is she coming now?
tiratpá̰ri *tiratpá̰ri*
here I roam here I roam.

A little boy is sitting crying,
A little boy is sitting crying,
"Is mother coming now?
Is mother coming now?
Here I wander about, here I wander about."

Two songs recorded by Effie Blane[3] refer to the Crow as the messenger from the beyond. One, without Pawnee text, is given in free translation by Densmore as:

"The crow, we see his likeness moving inside the circle of dancers."

The other song is given in full:

ka·ka *tḭ́wa·ku* *ka·ka* *tḭ́wa·ku*
Crow he says crow he says,
wétatù·ta *(tù)* *tátù·ta*
now I do I do
atira *ḭrira·a* *atira* *ḭrira·a*
Mother whence she comes Mother whence she comes
(Moon) (Moon)

The crow is calling, the crow is calling,
"Now I am active, I am active
In the place whence Mother Moon comes, in the place whence Mother Moon comes."

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song.' It was also customary to sing this song at a hand game." (p. 91). The song would not be sung to hand game play, but in the Ghost Dance intervals.

[114] [1] Densmore, p. 76, no. 47. The explanation which precedes this song in Densmore's account is misconceived, and may refer to another song; a piraski is a boy up to the age of puberty.

[2] This is not the interrogative used in ordinary speech or in text material. I am thus unable to control the form of the question grammatically, but since the substance of the song calls for an interrogative I leave it as it stands and have translated it in that way. The complex *we rá̰à·hu* would be the declarative form, "now she is coming." G. Weltfish.

[3] Densmore, nos. 50, 51; pp. 79—80.

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of games and dances, and the special developments of the Ghost Dance hand games. But the esoteric activities were more difficult to bring back to life. When there were men alive who knew the way, the vision was a specific mandate upon them (often expressed in the vision) to renew the activity. Often, however, a ritual or ceremony was no longer officially in existence; those who had known and controlled it were long dead. Then many men who knew something of it would combine their resources, pooling their memories to revive the ceremony.

The vision mandate in these cases substituted for the old official transference of knowledge. In the Ghost Dance vision the subject "saw" the deceased ritual controller (the "ghost"). The deceased spoke to the visionary, and (in theory) told him to revive the old cultural form, and told him how to go about it. Such visions brought a new sanction into Pawnee life and thought. Where formerly it would have been sacrilege to have carried out a dance or ceremony to which one had not the right through learning and purchase, the trance vision now constituted a supernatural command that the performance be revived.

It was in this way that the Bear Dance, one of the major medicine men's ceremonies was reconstructed and revived. When the Bear Dance was studied by James Murie in the early years of this century, it was the revived form which was studied and recorded. The following account is quoted from Murie[1]:

"At the death of Bear Chief of the Pitahawirat[a], the main bearskin and other things belonging to the Bear Society were buried with him. He had not taught the secret ceremony to any one; so it was supposed that the Bear Society was lost. At a meeting of the medicine society when the ceremony had ended, a woman arose, her name Woman Yellow Corn, and said, "I had

[1] Murie, Ceremonies of the Pawnee. In press, Bureau of Ethnology. Murie was unaware of the nature of this whole procedure as a revival, which gives the naive form in which the revival methods are described considerable weight as substantiation of the interpretation of the writer, which is based on work with present-day informants.

The account is presented by Murie as the Skiri Bear Dance, but I have found on internal evidence, such as the affiliation of the owners of the revived ceremony, the choice of individuals for leaderships, the story of teaching associated with the ceremony, and the fact that the bears are "yellow bears", etc., that the form must be considered that of the Pitahawirat band. Murie's confusion about the band affiliation was in part the result of the pooling of knowledge, which overrode band lines. Of interest is the fact that in Murie's account of the felling of the cedar tree, the tree is made to fall westward, a Ghost Dance orientation; in earlier times the tree would have to fall eastward.

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VI.

THE OLD PAWNEE HAND GAME[1]

When the Pawnee lived in Nebraska, and for some time after they removed to Oklahoma, the hand game kept its traditional place in Pawnee life as a gambling game. It was a game for men only, and primarily an adults' game; the women did not participate and were not supposed to come near where the men were playing. The game was conceived as a warpath, and so dramatized: and warpaths for the Pawnee were activities excluding the participation of women. The men's game was usually a contest between two Pawnee bands, in which one would visit the other for the express purpose of playing a hand game and gambling on the result. Small boys, in imitation of their elders, would play hand games and gamble. And in the same way that one Pawnee band visited another to challenge them to play the hand game, men of one Pawnee band would visit a tribe with whom they were on friendly terms for a hand-game contest. For the most part, it was a game for the younger men; maturer men, like chiefs and braves, usually did not gamble.

The three old types of play will be more lucid from short narratives[2]:

THE BOYS' HAND GAME

When small boys played a hand game, it came about as part of their play around the village. Some group of boys would decide to play the way their elders did, and as many or as few as there were,

[1] The old Pawnee gambling hand game has not heretofore been described. Culin, in his monographic treatment of Games of the North American Indians, quotes, p. 276, on Pawnee a passage from G. B. Grinnell, Story of the Indian, p. 27. The description of the method of play in the passage differs fundamentally from that herein reported. Examination shows that the quoted passage is a generalized description by Grinnell of the hand game among Indian tribes of the Plains. No reference suggests that he intended it as a description of play among the Pawnee. Culin was no doubt misled by the fact that, following the passage quoted, Grinnell tells the story of a game between Pawnee and Cheyenne scouts in the army, in which a Cheyenne was caught cheating; but in recounting this episode Grinnell does not describe the form of play. Grinnell was familiar with the game among more than eight tribes, and was probably not overconcerned in a popular treatment with the local tribal variations in play.

[2] As told by Mark Evarts; somewhat edited.

525 562 574 885 525 857 114 [p. 139]

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FOREWORD

The previous studies of Indian music [1] have included no tribe in which ceremonialism is so highly developed as among the Pawnee, whose songs are here presented. This research was conducted among members of the Skidi and Chaui Bands near Pawnee, Okla., in 1919 and 1920. Portions of two important ceremonies were witnessed and several gatherings of a ceremonial character were attended during the progress of the work. The ceremonies were those of the Morning Star and the Painting of the Buffalo Skull, the writer being admitted to the Morning Star lodge during the former ceremony and witnessing the Buffalo and Lance dances, which are a part of the latter. The gatherings included hand games, and dances in honor of Pawnee soldiers upon their return from the recent war.

Grateful acknowledgment is made of assistance rendered by interpreters, especially by Mr. James R. Murie, chief of the Skidi Band, who explained many tribal customs and who wrote down and interpreted the words of the songs. The writer also acknowledges the courtesy of Dr. John R. Swanton in standardizing the orthography of the Pawnee words.

[1] Chippewa Music, Bull. 45; Chippewa Music II, Bull. 53; Teton Sioux Music, Bull. 61; Northern Ute Music, Bull. 75; Mandan and Hidatsa Music, Bull. 80; Papago Music, Bull. 90, Bur. Amer. Ethn.; and Music of the Tule Indians of Panama, Smithsonian Misc. Colls., vol. 77, no. 11.

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3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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PAWNEE MUSIC

By Frances Densmore

THE PAWNEE TRIBE

The Pawnee is commonly regarded as the last of the Caddoan Tribes which migrated in a general northeasterly direction at an early date.[1] When the Siouan Tribes entered the valley of the Platte River in Nebraska they found the Pawnee already established in that region. The Pawnee called themselves by a term meaning "men of men." Their present name was probably given by some neighboring tribe and derived from *pariki*, meaning a horn, as it was the Pawnee custom to shave the head except a narrow strip extending from the forehead to the scalplock and to stiffen this ridge of hair with grease and paint, curving it upward like a horn.

While in Nebraska the Pawnee lived in earth lodges which were in four permanent groups of villages, each having its geographical location along the Platte River. The people of each group were a unit, representing a division of the tribe. The Skidi (Wolf Pawnee) was in the northwest, its people considering themselves related to the Arikara, another Caddoan Tribe living some distance to the north. The Pitahauerat (Tapage Pawnee) were downstream, the Kithahki (Republican Pawnee) were upstream, and the Chaui (Grand Pawnee) were located between the two last named. The soil of the region was dry and rather sandy with rough, broken land toward the mountains in the west, yet the Pawnee were essentially an agricultural people, cultivating corn, beans, squash, and pumpkins. Buffalo and other game was abundant in the early days, and the Pawnee were excellent hunters, their hunting expeditions covering a wide area.

The first treaty between the Government of the United States and the Pawnee Indians was made at St. Louis Trading Post in June, 1818.[2]

[1] In the classification of the North American races by John W. Powell the Pawnee is classified as one of the five independent groups of the Caddoan stock. Miss Alice C. Fletcher regards the Pawnee as a confederacy, the divisions or bands of the tribe being treated by her as separate tribes in the Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p 213. Cf also Linton, Ralph, The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee, The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee, and Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men, compiled chiefly from unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey, published as leaflets Nos. 5, 6, and 8, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1922-23.

[2] Indian Affairs; Laws and Treaties, Charles J. Kappler, ed., vol. II, pp. 156-159, Washington, 1904.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

INTRODUCTION.

The following discussion of Pawnee societies was prepared by James R. Murie, a member of the Skidí division, under the direction of the editor who is in the main responsible for its form and limitations. Mr. Murie's method was to collect and write out in full such information on the several topics as could be secured. These notes were then made the subject of several conferences with the editor during which the present manuscript was prepared. It being thus essentially an original contribution, the editor has not considered it necessary to add comments on the previous literature. The important titles on the Pawnee are the three articles by John B. Dunbar in the *Magazine of American History* for 1880–81; *Pawnee Hero Stories* (1893) by George Bird Grinnell; *The Hako* (1894) by Miss Alice C. Fletcher; and two volumes of myths by George A. Dorsey; *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee* (1904) and *The Pawnee Mythology* (1906). In all of these except the two first, Mr. Murie was a collaborator.

While this paper is primarily concerned with societies as treated in the preceding pages, a general outline of the tribal ceremonial scheme is given for perspective, there being no publication to date that treats this subject systematically. This will probably be sufficient to give a general idea of the place and significance of Pawnee societies as parts of their culture complex.

The drawings are by Mr. S. Ichikawa from specimens and sketches furnished by the author.

The Editor.

September, 1914.

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4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

signals for the members to dance. All the songs are those of the founder and so entirely unlike those of others. In the last four songs there is great excitement.

The food offering with bowl and spoon is as before stated. The regalia are here the same as before.[1]

General Discussion. In Miss Fletcher's account of the Omaha hethu'-shka certain statements as to origin are made which are inconsistent with the writer's data. In the first place, the Pawnee have always said that the Omaha originally got their society from them, they having been guests at several iruska performances, adopted such of it as they comprehended and later elaborated the procedure into the present form, though some features are certainly Osage contributions. The Dakota first learned the dance from the Omaha, as they state (p. 48), but testify to its Pawnee origin. About fifty years ago Pawnee-Tom visited the Arikara and assisted Enemy-heart to inaugurate the ceremony. Later, Enemy-heart sold the dance to the Crow Indians and then to other tribes. The writer has studied the songs of the dance and finds that everywhere many of them are undoubtedly those of the Pawnee iruska and what is more to the point, bear the general characteristics of all Pawnee songs. The Dakota and Omaha, however, have many original songs of their own, some of which the Pawnee have borrowed. In general, from the data at hand, the writer considers it clear that the origin of the modern form of this dance lies between the Omaha and the Osage, but that it was derived from an older ceremony which the Omaha, and possibly the Osage, borrowed of the Pawnee.

It should be noted that in the Skidi iruska dog flesh is served. Four men wearing the feather belts scout for and capture the kettle. Then they take sticks and take out the dog's head for a leading man to count coup on. A kettle of corn is then brought in and handled in the same manner, except

[1] Author's note. While in a trance he saw the dead people dancing the iruska dance but in a different way from that of the old iruska dance. There were six drummers. The drum was painted black, the stick had coverings at the ends. There were six stations about the room, three on the north side and three on the south side. The station men had a forked stick stuck in the ground in front of them. There were feathers at the end of each fork and the sticks were wrapped with beads. The northeast stick was covered with black beads; the north stick with light blue beads; the northwest stick with dark blue beads; the southwest stick with yellow beads; the south stick, red; the southeast stick, white. Also he found out or was told there were that many minor gods in the heavens. When these station men get up to dance, all have to rise and dance. There are five sets of songs, ten songs in each set. The tunes are nearly the same as for the old iruska songs. The last ten are ghost dance songs. The last songs are exciting, and the dancers are given to excitement and tremble, falling down as in the ghost dance. The closing speech after the feast differs from the older form. It is as follows: Father is thankful for eating our smoke; father, his child, and the gods are thankful for eating our smoke; sun and moon are both made thankful for eating our smoke; our mother earth is thankful for eating our smoke; our dead relations are thankful for eating our smoke; now we have all smoked and eaten. After this speech, everyone leaves the lodge.

5: Dorsey & Murie E,I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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NOTES ON SKIDI PAWNEE SOCIETY

I. INTRODUCTION

From 1903 to 1907, George A. Dorsey, then Curator of Anthropology at Field Museum, received a series of grants from the Carnegie Institution of Washington for ethnological field work among the Caddoan tribes. Much of the investigation was carried on among the Pawnee, during which time James R. Murie was associated with Dorsey. The interest which Murie, himself a Pawnee, took in recording the culture of his people, and his perseverance in collecting the fast-vanishing ethnographic data relating to his tribe, are deserving of special mention. On the basis of the information gathered in the field, Murie and Dorsey commenced the preparation of a monograph entitled "Society and Religion of the Skidi Pawnee," though unfortunately the manuscript was never completed. Murie's later report on Pawnee societies (Murie, 1914) duplicated certain parts of the unfinished memoir, while other details were incorporated in four articles by Ralph Linton on various aspects of Pawnee ceremony and religion (Linton, 1922a, b; 1923a, b). The section of the manuscript dealing with society was very briefly summarized by Dorsey (Dorsey, 1907b) but until now it has not otherwise appeared in print. During the course of its preparation for publication, I found it necessary to make considerable literary revision, but the facts have not been changed. The orthography of the Pawnee words is the same as that used in the manuscript. Editorial comments on various points in the text appear in brackets.

The last decade has seen a revival of interest in the Pawnee. Recent anthropological work has more fully elucidated the history of the tribe, and our perspective has been correspondingly deepened and enriched. However, there remains a lack of published ethnographic data on the Pawnee which seriously handicaps comparison with other Plains tribes and retards the definition of problems relating to Plains Indian social organization. On a purely descriptive level, the present notes are a step toward filling out the incomplete picture. They deal briefly with social groupings such as the band, village, and family; with kinship; the major crimes and their punishment; class distinctions; and the individual life cycle, which is accorded a fuller treatment than the other sections. John B. Dunbar (1880a, b), Fletcher (1899), and Lesser (1930, 1933) have discussed some of these aspects of social organization, but the

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5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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material included here is valuable as corroborative or as contrasting data that have been gathered independently.

As a study of social organization the present notes are suggestive rather than fully definitive, and point to the need of a more penetrating analysis of the complexities of Pawnee society. Increasing attention is being accorded today to the dynamic aspects of culture in the general Plains area, with a greater focusing of attention on the Woodland affiliations of the Plains tribes, the character of the pre-horse culture, the changes that took place with the introduction of nomadic, bison-hunting life, and the formation of new types of social structures adapted to the environmental conditions of the Plains. Although the Caddoan connections of the Pawnee are well known, a more comprehensive ethnographic knowledge concerning the tribe would do much to establish more definitely its cultural position and early historical relations. Further, as a semi-sedentary people with what Kroeber has called a "horse-bison culture overlay," the Pawnee form a type of group on which more data are desirable, both from the standpoint of examining the effect of the introduction of the horse among the Pawnee proper, and for purposes of comparison with other village tribes and with the more typical Plains groups. Specifically, this report indicates the following aspects of Pawnee social organization as being in need of further clarification: the political and ceremonial basis of the federation of Skidi villages; the economic functions of social groupings such as the band, village, and family, particularly with reference to the sedentary and buffalo-hunting phases of Pawnee life; the system of land tenure; the intricacies of the ceremonial organization; rank and status; and the kinship system and its relation to descent, inheritance, and succession. Fortunately, much of the necessary data has been collected, though they remain in unpublished form.

I am indebted to Mr. Clifford C. Gregg, Director of Field Museum, for his sympathetic aid. Also I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Paul S. Martin, Chief Curator, Department of Anthropology, for his assistance and encouragement and to Dr. Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago for his helpful advice during the preparation of the manuscript for publication.

ALEXANDER SPOEHR

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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mission to have young Murie take his place in the ceremonial circuit in the lodge with the understanding that he be made chief on the death of Skidi-Good-Chief, thus continuing the Pumpkin-Vine village in the circuit.

A marriage outside the village occurred about sixty years ago [sixty years prior to 1907], and, as the result bears directly on the question of descent, the facts are worth quoting. A man of the Pumpkin-Vine village, having obtained the consent of his uncles, married a young woman of the Morning-Star village. He lived with his wife in the Morning-Star village for several years, during which time he made sacrifices to the Morning-Star bundle and learned its ceremony. Then he returned to his own village and took his children with him, the children being considered members of the Pumpkin-Vine village. But while living in the Morning-Star village he was considered to have obtained certain rights in that bundle, and he demanded recognition of these rights. On his return to his own village, the Morning-Star bundle was divided, and he carried part of it to the Pumpkin-Vine village. Thus, there exist today two Morning-Star bundles. The ultimate fate of his half of the Morning-Star bundle is interesting. His children all died except one daughter, who married Leader, a member of the Coyote-in-Water village [Wolves-Standing-in-Water village?], who claims ownership in the bundle today. She came by it in this manner: On the death of the husband—that is, the member of the Pumpkin-Vine village—his widow lived with her daughter's husband; she, as keeper of this Morning-Star bundle, ultimately turned it over to her daughter, whose husband, Leader, a member of the Coyote-in-Water village, learned its ceremony and sacrificed scalps to it and so claimed it. Thus it happens today that the priests of Coyote-in-Water village and the Pumpkin-Vine village have a right to be present when either of the Morning-Star bundles is opened.

[This statement that descent in the village group followed the paternal line is in direct contradiction to a later one by Murie. In his report on Pawnee societies (1914), Murie wrote: "... if a man married a woman from another village, he must go there to live. His children were always considered members of the mother's village." The contradiction may be due to confusing the inheritance of sacred bundles, which generally followed the paternal line, and descent in a village group, which may well have been maternal. Also, in cases where the inheritance of a sacred bundle was involved, the pattern of descent might have been modified in favor of patri-

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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lineal reckoning. Finally, there is the possibility that descent may have altered during the long period of white contact. In any case, if the villages formerly tended to be endogamous, the question of descent in the village group would arise only as the result of infrequent inter-village marriages.]

Each village possessed a sacred bundle of its own, except that one village, the Four-Band village, had four such bundles. Where it has been possible to obtain the legend telling the origin of a village it appears that a star, or a group of stars, was responsible for the birth of the founder, or founders, of a village. The sacred bundle of the village either was given to the founder by the star or was made by the founder according to instructions from the star. The bundle itself was owned by the village chief, though his wife was the keeper, and a priest took charge of the rituals connected with it.

[The ceremonies associated with these sacred bundles gave each village a separate and distinct unity and also brought it into the ceremonial organization of the band as a whole. However, two Skidi villages never entered completely into the larger organization of the band. The complex ceremonial life of the Skidi is not fully elucidated in the Dorsey-Murie manuscript, but, so far as I can determine, the sacred bundle ceremonies fell into the following categories: (1) Those ceremonies that were the exclusive property of individual villages and were performed in connection with the individual village bundles; (2) those that related to the band and centered around two bundles belonging to the whole band, not to a single village; and (3) a group of ceremonies, including an annual cycle, that involved both village and band bundles, and were also considered as referring to the welfare of the band generally. Of this last group the ceremonies associated with the four bundles of the Four-Band village were of great importance.

According to a statement in the manuscript, the names of the villages and the names of the bundles were not the same and formerly had nothing to do with each other. Some of the villages were extinct and their bundles gone by 1907, and it apparently proved impossible to obtain a complete list of the names of the thirteen villages, as well as those of their respective bundles. In some cases, either the village or the bundle name had been forgotten. This gave rise to some confusion, for apparently some of the villages were remembered by their bundle names, and some of the bundles by their village names. It is probably for this reason that the village names published by Dorsey (1907b) and Murie (1914) do not entirely

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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PREFACE

The Pawnee have been known to white men since, probably, 1541, and certainly since 1673. They were the most numerous and powerful of the tribes constituting the Caddoan linguistic stock and one of the most important of the entire Plains area. Since the earliest definite historic mention of them they have been resident in Nebraska and the extreme northern portion of Kansas, particularly on the Loup, Platte, and Republican Rivers. As a tribe they were always friendly to the Europeans and later to the Americans, rendering invaluable aid as scouts in the Indian troubles on the Plains during the middle half of the nineteenth century; and that despite the half-hearted and tardy attentions that too often characterized the Government's relations with them.

The tribe has been variously described by early explorers, missionaries, fur traders, Army officers, and travelers, many of whom left very valuable and worth-while accounts concerning them in their native habitat in the Loup and Platte Valleys. In more recent years, on their reservation in Oklahoma, they have been studied by linguists and ethnologists, though much of this material is still unpublished. Of outstanding note among the available treatises in this field is the work of Dunbar in general ethnology, of Dorsey in mythology, of Grinnell in folk-tales, and of Murie in social and political organization. Archeological remains, surprisingly rich and numerous at many of the old village sites formerly occupied by the tribe, have received but little systematic attention up to the present, save for the excellent beginnings made by a few local collectors. Yet it is this latter, long-neglected field of research which must come to be more and more drawn upon for information regarding this fast-vanishing tribe and its native culture.

The primary purpose of this paper, as originally planned, was to present a purely objective preliminary report on the archeology of the Pawnee, drawing together all data at present available and recording it in systematic fashion. More or less inadvertently, the scope was broadened to include a review of the traditions dealing with the origin and early movements of the tribe, as well as a concise summary of the documentary history of the tribe from 1541 to 1876. To this were added brief notes on the environment of the group, and such other significant facts as may be helpful to an understanding of the subject. The social, political, and religious phases

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of Pawnee culture, as well as their general ethnology, have been deliberately avoided, since most of these have been treated at length elsewhere. Finally, correlations have been made with other cultures of adjoining areas with a view to determining as far as possible where the roots of Pawnee culture lie.

The principal source for the archeological data embodied in this paper is the Hill collection at the Hastings (Nebr.) Museum. This collection, gathered over a period of more than 18 years by Mr. A. T. Hill, Hastings business man and director of the Nebraska State Historical Society Museum at Lincoln, is unequaled by any in the field of Pawnee archeology. Most of the specimens were secured from the Hill site, now the property of Mr. Hill, but there is in addition much comparative material from other historic Pawnee and prehistoric sites in central and southern Nebraska. Through the courtesy of Mr. Hill the writer was enabled to spend 2 weeks in a study of these exhibits, at which time the bulk of the information was obtained. The known Pawnee material recovered by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey, of which the writer was a member during the summer of 1930, has also been drawn upon. This was secured mainly from the Hill site and corroborates generally the facts reached through study of the Hill collections. Mention should also be made of the excellent collection of surface material in the possession of Mr. Alfred Tichacek, of Linwood, Nebr., all of which comes from the early Pawnee site near that town. On two different occasions access was had to these specimens for study purposes. In addition, small collections made by various amateur collectors and, as far as available, those of the Nebraska Historical Society, were also examined.

The paper, intended as a basic approach to the study of prehistory in the Pawnee area, was originally completed in the spring of 1931. Lack of funds prevented publication at the time, however, and the rapid accumulation of new data from the region has made possible revision from time to time of the sections dealing with archeological details. Final revision was made in November 1935, bringing the paper so far as possible up to date in the light of researches made since its inception. For a review of Pawnee archeology and its relation to other Nebraska cultures, the reader is referred to Dr. W. D. Strong's recent publication (An Introduction to Nebraska Archeology, Smithson. Misc. Colls., vol. 93, no. 10, 1935), in part based upon investigations which were coincident with or immediately subsequent to those here described. The results of other and more recent work in the area, dealing primarily with prehistoric sites, will be found in the present writer's reports in the Nebraska History Magazine, vol. 14, no. 3, 1934, and vol. 15, no. 3, 1935. Findings of the Nebraska State Historical Society in historic Pawnee sites at

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Leshara and Blue Springs in the summer of 1935 have not yet been made public, but a hurried examination by the author of the artifacts and records at Lincoln indicates a general agreement with the material on which the present introductory work is based.

The writer wishes to acknowledge, first of all, his deep indebtedness to Dr. William Duncan Strong, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, formerly professor of anthropology at the University of Nebraska and director of the Nebraska Archaeological Survey (1929–31), who first suggested and outlined the paper, for his constant encouragement, constructive criticism, and assistance all through its preparation. To Mr. A. T. Hill, of Hastings, are due sincere thanks for his splendid cooperation in the field of Pawnee archeology, and also for invaluable suggestions with regard to the history and ethnogeography of the tribe. Without his assistance the work would have been greatly curtailed in many of its phases. Mr. John L. Champe, of Lincoln, very generously prepared the photostat copies of early maps for use in conjunction with the historical sketch; Mr. Clarence Reckmeyer, of Fremont, contributed helpful information on early Pawnee history; and Mr. C. B. Schultz, of Lincoln, assisted in the preparation of certain of the modern maps. To these individuals, and to those others who at one time or another rendered assistance during the course of the work, grateful acknowledgment is here made.

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197 cupying lands on the Red River and to the south, included the
C19 closely related Wichita as well as the Waco, Caddo, Kichai, Anadarko, and Tawakoni; there were several smaller groups also, now virtually extinct. Alien linguistic stocks isolated these three Caddoan groups more or less completely from each other. Siouan tribes,
[101] namely the Ponca, Omaha, and Dakota, occupied the territory between the Pawnee and the Arikara, while between the Pawnee and the southern Caddoans were still other tribes of diverse linguistic affiliations; Kansa and Osage in the east and Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, and other nomadic tribes in the west.

The latest and most radical linguistic amalgamation of speech families north of Mexico is that of Sapir,[7] who reduces the 55 separate stocks of the Powell classification to 6 major groupings. According to Sapir, the Caddoan tribes are linked with the Iroquoian tribes in one subfamily of the greater Hokan-Siouan linguistic stock. Based upon deep-lying structural and morphological parallels, this new classification carries very suggestive and far-reaching implications, certain of which will be touched on hereafter.

Origin of the Name Pawnee

101 The name Pawnee is of somewhat uncertain origin. Dunbar[8] de-
● 114 rives it from *pa'-rik-i*, a horn, as an outgrowth of the typical Pawnee
[302] mode of dressing the scalp lock. The head of the warrior was shaven except for a small tuft or topknot which was daubed with bison fat and red ochre until stiff enough to stand erect, or curving slightly backward, like a horn. Since this was the most conspicuous feature of the individual it gave rise to the particular designation which ultimately became the name of the tribe. Formerly, according to the same authority, the term included the *Pawnee Picts*, or Wichita, and the Arikara. Arache, Arahei, Arae, Harahey, and Ahuache, names by which the Pawnee "kingdom" was known to the Spanish during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,[9] are then probably derivatives from *pa'-rik-i*, assuming this to have been actually the original designation for the tribe. However, as early as 1673 Marquette[10] used the term *Pana;* Valverde[11] speaks of the *Panana* in 1719; and thereafter, at least until the end of the eighteenth century, *Panis* and *Panimaha* are regularly employed in referring to the Pawnee. Just how these names were derived from *pa'-rik-i*, if indeed they ever were, is far from clear, nor does Dunbar show the orthographic and phonetic changes that would have taken place in such a process. The

[7] 1929, pp. 138–140; see also Parker, 1916, p. 483.
[8] 1880, a, p. 245. Compare, however, Lesser and Weltfish, 1932, p. 5.
[9] Winship, 1896, pp. 529, 577, 588, 590; Margry Papers, vol. VI, p. 310
[10] 1900, map facing p. 108.
[11] Bandelier, 1890, a, p. 185.

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term "Pani" was employed by the French during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to designate all Indian slaves, regardless of tribal affiliations, perhaps because the majority of such slaves were captives from the tribe known as *Panis*.[13] Conversely, however, it has been suggested that the tribe may have derived its name from the old French term, without its originally having been connected with them at all.[14] The older form, "Pani", survived until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when, largely through the agency of early American explorers, it was superseded by the modern Pawnee, rarely Pawney.[15] Among themselves the people are called *Chahiksi-chahiks*, or "men of men."

Names and General Organization of the Bands

The unit of tribal organization among the Pawnee was the band.[16] There were four of these, each in turn consisting of several subbands and villages. The main bands, which are sufficient for present purposes, were known as the *Chaui* or Grand, the *Kitkehahki* or Republican, the *Pitahauerat* or Tappage, and the *Skidi*, or Wolf, Pawnee. Ordinarily each functioned as an independent unit, retaining charge of its own administrative and other affairs through a hereditary, but often purely nominal, chief, who was assisted in matters of importance by secondary chiefs and a council of the leading men. The Grands were generally recognized as the leading band, and where situations arose involving relationships between the several bands, or affecting the tribe as a whole, the principal chief of the Grands acted as spokesman and adviser for the entire tribe. The bands were endogamous, and each possessed its own sacred bundles and certain accompanying rituals, besides participatory privileges in various tribal ceremonies. The Skidi appear to have been less closely bound to the other bands than were these to one another, and they may have sprung from a somewhat different ancestry, or else possibly represent an earlier offshoot from the parent stock. In the present discussion the bands will be designated by their anglicized names, with the exception of the Skidi.

Historic Habitat and Its Geographical Features

The territory claimed by the Pawnee was bounded on the north by the Niobrara River, on the south by the Arkansas or possibly the Canadian, on the east by the Missouri, and on the west extended rather indefinitely toward the Rockies. Actually, however, it was

[13] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 199.
[14] Idem. Compare Lesser and Weltfish, op. cit.
[15] Ashley and Smith, 1918, p. 119.
[16] See Murie, 1914, pp. 549 ff.

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probably opposite the present station of Clarks, in Polk County. The Republican Band was about 20 miles to the northwest on the Loup,[35] having apparently removed from where Long saw them on the Cottonwood site to the Horse Creek site evacuated by the Grands. The Tappage Band, here mentioned for the first time, was located 11 miles farther up the Loup,[36] and 10 miles beyond were the Skidi.[37] The last three villages were all situated on a high bank immediately overlooking the river. The distances from the Republican to the Tappage and Skidi villages, as here recorded, are too great to be reconciled with known Pawnee sites in that area, consequently later investigators are inclined to regard them as inaccurate, and to suggest that the Tappage village was actually at the Cottonwood Creek site and the Skidi village near by, at or near the location given by Long.[38]

Catlin, about 1835, referred briefly to the Pawnee as living on the Platte 100 miles above its confluence with the Missouri, occupying "four villages, some few miles apart."[39] It is doubtful whether he ever actually saw the villages, and his rather vague report adds little to our knowledge.

In June 1835 Col. Henry Dodge and a detachment of dragoons marched up the right, or south, bank of the Platte en route to the Rocky Mountains. They passed through the Grand Pawnee village after "having marched 80 miles since leaving the Otto village [at Yutan]."[1] The reference here is to the same village as that where Irving visited the band two years earlier. Dodge mentions the other three bands also,[2] but fails to locate their villages, from which we may infer that they were still on the old sites along the Loup and off the route traveled by the dragoons. Of especial interest is the statement that "the Arickaras had been living with the Pawnee Loups all winter, but were scared away previous to our arrival by a lying Kansas",[3] and the subsequent information that the Arikara had been driven from their habitat on the Missouri by the Sioux.[4] On the expedition's map but one Pawnee village is indicated, and that one opposite the lower end of Grand Island.[5]

Fremont's expedition, while descending the Platte from the Rockies in 1842, halted "at the village of the Grand Pawnee on

[35] 1835, vol. II, p. 67.
[36] Ibid., p. 119.
[37] Ibid., p. 125.
[38] A. T. Hill, personal communication.
[39] 1841, vol. II, pp. 24–27.
[1] Dodge, 1861, p. 133; also map no. 654 B.
[2] Idem.
[3] Idem.
[4] Ibid., p. 136.
[5] Grand Island is some 25 miles above Clarks, but Prairie Island, which may have been mistaken for the former, commences just above the site and extends approximately 10 miles upstream.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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With the exception of the Cottonwood Creek village, all of these sites, where definitely located, have been visited by the writer, who was accompanied in all but two instances by Mr. A. T. Hill, of Hastings. Several of the locations were first identified by Mr. Hill many years ago, and through the medium of sample collections he has acquired a first-hand acquaintance with each site that made his assistance invaluable. So far as systematic excavation is concerned, Mr. Hill's activities have been largely confined to the Hill site. The Nebraska Archeological Survey, of which the writer was a member, spent the first 2 weeks in August 1930 in intensive work at the same place, the results of which are included in this paper. Excavations by the Survey at the Burkett and Schuyler sites in 1931 were made subsequent to the writing of this paper. However, certain of these findings have been incorporated here, although the main results await future publication. The only other extended excavations were made by E. E. Blackman, of the Nebraska Historical Society, at the Burkett site, in 1907. For the rest, as already stated, the sites have been visited and their chief features noted, as well as surface collections of specimens wherever available.

SKIDI PAWNEE SITES

The Skidi band, known in early literature as the *Panimaha*, is by some considered to have been the first to occupy the northern habitat. According to their own claim, they were formerly a very powerful and numerous tribe, consisting of four bands, each numbering 5,000 souls.[84] This number is doubtless excessive, but to quote Grinnell, "There are yet to be seen on the Loup Fork, in Nebraska, innumerable remains of Skidi villages, some of which are very ancient."[85] To date only three sites have been definitely shown to be Skidi, although there is a very strong probability that archeology will bring to light many more of prehistoric age, possibly substantiating the greater antiquity of the Skidi in the area.[86]

PALMER SITE.—This was discovered by Mr. A. T. Hill, of Hastings, in 1922, and has been identified by him as the probable site of the Skidi village reported by Major Sibley in 1811,[87] and subsequently

sites are those exhibiting only the pure native cultural traits with no traces whatever of Caucasian contact; they antedate the arrival of the Spanish in 1541. In the above discussion only historic and protohistoric Pawnee sites are considered. Various sites in the last category are discussed in Smithsonian Misc. Colls., vol. 93, no. 10, by W. D. Strong, entitled "An Introduction to Nebraska Archeology"; also in Wedel, 1935, pp. 132–237.

[84] Grinnell, 1893, p. 236.

[85] Ibid., p. 239.

[86] All of the sites described are indicated on map 2 which shows their situation relative to the streams and river bluffs. The names are those in general use among local investigators; the numbers are for convenience in use of the map only.

[87] 1927, p. 203.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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about the end of the pipe. These devices were presumably for the attachment of a cord, which could be used to lash the pipes firmly onto their stems when in use, or to secure them against loss when carried with the sacred bundles on war and hunting trips. The comb in *d* may have served a similar purpose.

Unusual types are seen in *b*, *g*, and *k*. The first is slightly less than 1½ inches long, straight, and has a very slight taper; it is ornamented with a very well-executed face. The shape is reminiscent of the cloud blower of the pueblo area, though this particular pipe was undoubtedly fitted with a wooden stem; it is not at all typical of our area. As for the other two specimens, *g* and *k*, both have the bowl at right angles to the stem, but are fashioned from plain, subrectangular blocks of stone; *k* bears five notches on the outer side and two on the inner.

The specimens seen in *d* and *j* are also very nicely made and are remarkably symmetrical and well balanced. Added beauty is attained through the use of ornamental combs and keels, as already indicated, but these features appear not to have been very common.

According to Charlevoix,[64] the Pawnee claimed to have received the calumet directly from the sun. From this he concluded that the tribe "paid the sun a more ancient and distinguished worship than the other nations of that part of America, and that they were the first who thought of making the calumet a symbol of alliance." The priority in use here postulated has not yet been demonstrated, but there is a marked similarity between certain of the Pawnee pipes and those from earlier cultures of the area, save that the latter are not ordinarily of catlinite. It is quite possible that the elaborate calumets figured in our series will ultimately be traced back through the sandstone and limestone types of southern Nebraska to an earlier curved form of clay so far known in the State only from the Missouri Valley. These latter, while crude and roughly made, are suggestive of the trumpet-shaped pipes of the Iroquois,[65] to which they may bear a genetic relationship. The long-stemmed clay pipes of the southern Caddoans[66] are apparently lacking in Nebraska, although certain of the short-stemmed "variants" do resemble the pipes of the Pawnee.[67]

Work in Bone and Horn

Awls.—These are to be found nearly everywhere in the area but are most common on the prehistoric and protohistoric sites. There is no fixed type, although the majority of specimens appear to have

[64] 1903, vol. I, p. 306.
[65] Skinner, 1921, pp. 89–103 and figure 13.
[66] Harrington, 1920, pls. CI and CII.
[67] Ibid., pl. CIV, *e*.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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The border is carved with zigzag lightning symbols. The emblem of the sun, 5 inches in diameter, with 4 long and 12 short rays, is neatly cut into the upper part of the piece, which is further embellished with brass-headed tacks (Nebr. Hist. Mag., x, 3, 1927, p. 192). It is a most unusual and attractive piece of work and was very likely made by Indian craftsmen. Fragments of other nicely decorated boards have been recovered, but none is sufficiently large to permit a good reconstruction.

MISCELLANEOUS.—Wooden boxes and chests, bound with leather or metal and studded with large-headed nails, are not uncommon, though always in fragmentary condition. Wooden-backed mirrors, sheaths, and numerous other odds and ends are frequently found, nearly always with rows of nails as ornamental features. The clumsy workmanship probably indicates that most of them were made by the Indians themselves, in imitation of the white man's articles. Occasionally a better piece is recovered, perhaps with a lock or hinge, these being probably imported and trade articles. Pipestems of light carved wood have been found in a few cases but were too fragmentary for accurate restoration.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

GLASS BEADS.—These were in very extensive use by the Pawnee after the arrival among them of white traders. Small white, blue, and red beads, of transparent glass, are by far the commonest, especially in graves, while black appears relatively infrequently. Tubular porcelain beads, less than one-half inch long, are also found, though not very plentiful. Large, irregularly shaped blue, red, and colorless beads, mostly translucent, have been regarded as of Indian manufacture because of their crudity (pl. 8, *n*). Samples of these were submitted to M. W. Stirling, of the Smithsonian Institution, for examination and were pronounced by him to be trade material from the Hudson Bay Co., probably via the Missouri.[83] All of these were from the Hill site, abandoned about 1810. There is thus no positive evidence that the Pawnee ever manufactured their own glass beads, though the custom was followed by the Arikara, Mandan, and other upper Missouri River tribes in historic times.[84]

METAL WORK.—Iron and copper become increasingly common with recency. Iron "squaw" hoes, gun parts, axes, chisels, bridles, stirrups, knives, and innumerable other odds and ends abound on the

[83] Letter of Oct. 13, 1930.

[84] Lewis and Clark, 1922, vol. i, p. 238. However, excavation at the Burkett site in April 1931 yielded a number of turquoise-blue, glass beads of rough manufacture and imperfect glass. According to Dr. W. D. Strong, these are closely similar to a native-made specimen of glass work secured by Dr. Mathew among the Arikara in 1870, now in the National Museum.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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depth was 5 feet 6 inches, of which 4 or 5 inches was due to downward creep of the hillside soil subsequent to interment. The burial cavity measured 33 inches east to west by 24 inches north to south; it had been undercut quite noticeably toward the north, so that the contents did not lie directly below the original mouth of the grave. The remains were those of a young child not over 6 or 7 years of age, and were exceptionally well preserved (pl. 11, *d*). The skeleton lay on its right side, with the head toward the east. The feet were folded closely against the buttocks, with the knees partially drawn up toward the body. The right arm lay fully extended just in front of and along the body; the left arm was folded over the pelvis. Immediately in front of the knees was a small gray pot, inverted and empty (pls. 3, *c*; 11, *d*). The only other objects were fragmentary lead rings, two of which lay on either side of the cranium in such a position as to predicate their use as ear pendants.

Bushnell,[88] in discussing Pawnee burial customs, states that "according to Francis La Flesche the bodies were placed in the graves in a sitting position." This statement is wholly at variance with the results of archeological work in the historic sites. Upward of 40 graves have been opened at the Hill site in the past 8 years, yet not one instance of a skeleton in a sitting position has come to light. Similarly the work at the Palmer, Linwood, and other important sites has failed to disclose any verification of La Flesche's statement, and present indications are that so far as the Nebraska Pawnee were concerned interment in a sitting position was uncommon.

As was noted in each of the cases above described, the bodies were usually flexed, wholly or in part, doubtless to conserve space. The bodies were never consistently oriented with reference to any of the cardinal points of the compass, nor were they laid any more frequently on the right side than on the left, or vice versa. Undercutting of the grave, especially toward the north, was quite common; the amount varied with the depth, which was usually between 3 and 6 feet. The soil covering the bodies is generally mottled and mixed with organic material and of a looser texture than that elsewhere.

The bodies were usually wrapped in matting or bark for interment and were always accompanied by mortuary offerings. Shaped stones (pl. 7) from 3 to 6 inches in length are nearly always found in or near the left hand of adult males. The offerings are most commonly found in front of the body if lying on its side, or on the chest if lying face upward. At the Hill site flints and steel, glass beads, lead rings, wooden-backed mirrors, knives, shell gorgets, Spanish, British, and American peace medals, military buttons, cloth, foodstuffs, and innumerable other odds and ends were used as offer-

[88] 1927, p. 79.

12: Grinnell N-5 (1870-1885)1961 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

dressing them up to suit the civilized taste. My object in giving these narratives in their present shape is to make a book which shall be true to life, and shall faithfully reflect the Pawnee character, as the story tellers have themselves painted it. In a very few cases I have added some words explaining matters so well understood by those familiar with the Indians as to need no explanation. If these tales have any ethnological value, it will be enhanced by their being given in the precise form in which they were told by those to whom they have been handed down from generation to generation; but quite apart from this is another point which is entitled to consideration.

The entire ignorance concerning Indians, which prevails among the general public, can be dispelled only by letting that public understand something of the ways of life of the wild Indian, something of the subjects about which he thinks and talks, as well as of how he looks at these subjects, and what he has to say about them.

The late Mrs. Jackson's charming story, "Ramona," did much to bring the more intelligent class of readers in touch with the Indians, and to awaken sympathy for them by pointing out the unnumbered wrongs perpetrated on this race by the Government. Mrs. Jackson's book was a story, a novel; wonderfully well told and full of truth and feeling; but while it may have been a relation of facts, it did not profess to treat of actual persons. It is looked upon by many readers as a mere romance. It is a book about which I was once asked, skeptically, "Did you ever see any Indians like those?" In the Pawnee stories here set down there is no romance nor coloring. The Indians themselves are talking, and whatever the faults and weak points of these tales—and some of them are sufficiently obvious—they at least give the reader a true conception of Indians as they have actually lived. They are stories of Indians by Indians. There is about them nothing of the white man; and the intelligent person, who is sufficiently interested in the subject to read this book through, will gain from it a new insight into Indian character.

The Indian of Cooper—with his bravery, his endurance, his acuteness, his high qualities of honesty, generosity, courtesy and hospitality—has been laughed at for half a century. Yet every man who has mingled much with the Indians in their homes has known individuals who might have sat for the portraits which Cooper drew of some of

12: Grinnell N-5 (1870-1885)1961 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

114 his aboriginal heroes. There are good men among Indians, just as among the whites. The prevalent notion of the Indian has been formed from the worst class of this people, the lazy, filthy beggars who haunt the settlements of the West, who to their own vices have added new ones picked up from their surroundings, and who are hopelessly degraded. These are not typical Indians, and it is unjust to judge a whole race from such degenerate specimens. There is still another notion of the Indian fondly cherished by many worthy people, whose sympathies have been wrought upon by the cruelty and injustice with which we have treated this race. These good people look upon all Indians as simple children of nature, who would do no wrong if they had not been contaminated by contact with vicious whites. It is unnecessary to say that this notion of the Indian is also incorrect.

114 181 The Indian is neither a fiend nor a saint. There are good ones and bad ones. As a rule, perhaps they try to act up to their ideas of what is right, but the standard of a race of barbarians cannot be the same as that of a civilized people, and in judging of their character we must make allowances for this difference. The standard of right and wrong among civilized people is a growth, the product of the experience of thousands of years. The Indian races have not been through a like experience. They have regarded as virtues some things which seem to us the worst of crimes. The Indian differs from the white man in education and manner of life, and so, of course, in his modes of thought. He has not been taught the lesson of self-control, which his surroundings oblige each civilized man to begin to learn as a child. He has known until recent times no law save that of strength. He has been [726] taught that war is the noblest of pursuits—the only one worthy of man. And that war has consisted in making forays upon his enemies, taking their possessions, and, if possible, their lives and their scalps. His warfare consisted in surprises rather than open combat. A scalp taken [727] was a trophy of victory; and the scalp of a woman was almost as eagerly sought as that of a brave or of a chief. It was an evidence of injury inflicted on the enemy. To steal horses from the enemy was an achievement creditable and also profitable.

721 We commonly speak of the raids of war parties as horse stealing expeditions, but this is wholly misleading, because to the civilized understanding the phrase horse stealing carries with it an idea of dis-

782 Prayers are made to them; sometimes for direct help in time of need,
776 but more often for intercession. Often in the folk-tales it will be seen that when the blessing asked for is some small thing, a prayer is made to the animals (*Na-but'rac*), but if the petitioners are asking for some great thing, something which is very difficult to grant, then the prayer is made to "One Above," to "The Ruler," that is, to the Supreme Being.

782 Nothing of importance was ever undertaken without a prayer for
776 help, for success. All the serious undertakings of the year, whose
796 success would affect the general welfare, were preceded by religious ceremonies, when all the tribe took part, and prayers were made and sacrifices offered to *Ti-ra'-wa;* and in all lesser enterprises, the individuals who were interested humbled themselves and implored the Divine assistance. A party starting off on the warpath prayed for success and made a burnt offering. Prayer and sacrifice always marked the beginning of the feast, and often its end. Success in their undertakings was acknowledged by grateful offerings to the Ruler. The victorious warrior sometimes sacrificed the scalp torn from the head of his enemy, and this was burned with elaborate ceremonies by the High Priest. He who brought back from a foray many horses, gave one to the priest as a thank-offering to the Ruler. One of the well-known Seven Brothers said to me, "It is our aim, after we have been helped, to give thanks."

The feeling of these Indians toward their God is one of humility and reverence. They do not love him, but they look to him for help at all times. The young are exhorted to humble themselves before him, to pray to him, to look to One Above, to ask help from the Ruler. In the stories which are included in this book the allusions constantly made to *Ti-ra'-wa*—the Supreme Power—the prayers offered and the humility and self-abnegation so often expressed, show faith, profound religious feelings, and great elevation of thought.

● 114 Among tribal names of North American Indians, none is more familiar to us than Pawnee; yet of no tribe is less known. Frequent allusions to them occur in the writings of early travelers in the West; but only one satisfactory attempt has been made to write a connected history of this family. In the *Magazine of American History* for

12: Grinnell N-5 (1870-1885)1961 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

1880–81 Mr. John B. Dunbar published a most interesting account of this tribe, but his sketch is mainly historical, and does not profess to treat exhaustively of the lives and modes of thought of this people. It is, however, a history of very great importance and value, and in preparing the historical matter which is included in this volume, I have not hesitated to draw on Mr. Dunbar's papers, which must form the basis of any subsequent account of the Pawnees, and which should be read by all who are interested in this people.

I owe much of my interest in and knowledge of the Pawnees to my long intimacy with the late Major Frank North, who from his extended intercourse and close connection with this people—a connection which lasted more than thirty years—was unquestionably better informed about them than any other white man has ever been; and with Capt. L. H. North, his brother, who was for many years associated with Major North in command of the Pawnee Scouts.

In gathering the material here presented I have been assisted also by James R. Murie, a nephew of Comanche Chief; by Ralph J. Weeks, a half-brother of Lone Chief; by Harry Kuhns, by Eagle Chief and Bear Chief, Skidis; by Good Chief and Curly Chief, Kit-ke-hahk-is; by Secret Pipe Chief and Frank White, Chau-is, and by many others of my Pawnee friends, to all of whom my acknowledgments are due.

In the pronunciation of the few Pawnee words used in these stories, the vowel sounds, as nearly as I can give them, are as follows: *a* as in father, *e* as the *a* in ale, *i* as *e* in cede, *ū* long as *oo* in pool, *ŭ* short as in us, *au* as *ou* in house. These sounds depend somewhat on the letters which follow the vowels, and the spelling does not always conform to the rule laid down. The last two syllables in the word Pita-hau-erat, for example, are pronounced *irăt* or *idot*. The sounds of *d*, *l*, *n* and *r* are difficult to express by English letters; *r* sometimes has its own sound quite distinctly, at others more the sound of *d*; *n* often has a *d* sound, and *l* a sound of *n*. It will be noted that throughout I have used the familiar English word Pawnee instead of the evidently more correct *Pa'-ni*.

Finally I have refrained from commenting on the stories, though there is abundant opportunity for comment.

13:Morgan E-5 (1859-1860, 1862) 1959
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114 I went on to Omaha partly to see as much of the upper Missouri as possible, and partly with hope of finding some Omahas or Pawnees at the village whom I was informed were frequently there. I found a band of [361] Pawnees some thinly encamped near the village and they were over at the boat and squads of them remained about the boat during the day and night. I went down to 124 the encampment, tried to find their interpreter who has the respectable name of John Rogers, but could not find him. Unfortunately for me a theft had been committed the day before by the Shawnees and he for some reason thought best to leave and to keep out of the way. I found a Pawnee who could talk some English and commenced a schedule with him, but I soon found out it would not answer and gave it up, and offered him pay if he would hunt up and bring Rogers to me during the day, which he promised to but did not do.

181 The Pawnees are said to be demoralized as a nation. Their women are universally prostitutes, they all steal and beg and are idle and profligate. This character is given to the nation and not to the few who wander about. How far it is just to the mass of the Pawnees who remain at their village at

[P 66 (A)]
[PP 1-65 not processed]

602 tain that the children of brothers are brothers and sisters to each other, and that the children of two sisters are the same, but about the children of a brother and a sister I could not ascertain. There is no term for [601] aunt, therefore a father's sister is a mother, and probably her son is a brother, but on this point I could not make any certain [115] progress. Col. Peter A. Sarpy of St. Marys told me that the father's sister was a grand [587] mother, and a man could marry this grand mother. If there is no aunt, then a woman has no nephew and niece, and a woman's brother's son is her grand son. But the mother's brother is an uncle, and consequently a man has a nephew and niece. I think I can nearly write out this system, but at all events I feel sure Mr. Allis will be able to do it for me with the aid I shall now be able to give him.

123 I stayed with this pleasant family which consists of a mother, two sons and one grown daughter and also an orphan girl brought up by them, and the Pawnee woman besides the Rev. Samuel Allis now absent as before stated. They refused compensation for my entertainment, and I left them Friday morning to return to Mr. Hamilton at Bellevue, well pleased with my visit: I am 114 to write to Mr. Allis on my return, and to [125] send him a schedule and they say he will attend to it for me.

I returned about three o'clock, June 8, to Bellevue, and shall remain here until Saturday morning when I go up to Omaha to meet the boat on which I am to return to Rulo, where I shall make a desperate effort for the Blackfoot and the Sheyenne and also try at Omaha again for the Pawnee.

[P90 (B)]

602
[114] 42. Morgan did not succeed in obtaining the Pawnee system until his field trip of 1862.

[p 213]
[pp 142 - 212 not processed]

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

12 narrator was Mark [illegible] Pawnee of the Skidi Band, whose childhood
115 was spent on the res[illegible]n Nebraska from 1861 to 1875, when Pawnee culture was still very much an integral polity and way of life. His personal identity is embodied in the "Boy Otter" as he appears in the following narrative.

101 My relationship with Mark Evarts began casually in the course of my
114 grammatical researches. Historically there were four political groups of
115 Pawnees known as bands, the Skidi or Wolf Band, the Kitkehaxki or Little-Earth-Lodge Band, the Tsawi or Asking-for-Meat Band and the Pitahawirata or Man-Going-Downstream Band. Each of these traditionally pronounced the language somewhat differently, but it was always known that the major difference was between the Skidi and the other three known collectively as the South Bands because of their former more southern location. From linguistic samples I took of each of the four, the distinctions among the South Bands were not clear enough to identify at that time. Only the Skidi difference was clear. Mark Evarts served as my Skidi informant with Henry Chapman as interpreter in my attempt to find any grammatical and pronunciation distinctions. Evarts' English was broken and so heavily overlaid with a Pawnee accent that it was understandable only with considerable difficulty. As my Pawnee vocabulary improved, we developed a Pawnee-English mode of communication that made the interpreter no longer necessary. As I extended my research into the semantic and cultural background of the language, Evarts became a major resource and ally in my investigations and our work extended over seven years and involved the entire Oklahoma Pawnee community.

114 At this time (1928–1936) Evarts was living with friends and relatives.
115 His wife and child had died tragically only a few years before, and he had lost his little farm to the bank. The crises that had beset his life as a member of his tribe and times were epic in their proportions; as a man in the decline of his years, he had many questions to ask, and I, as a novice in life's ills and trials, had many questions to ask of him. Many of his questions concerned the white culture and its values, and, as a young anthropologist, mine sought answers through the cross-cultural perspective I hoped to find in studying the Pawnee way. Together we established the language of our common humanity and communicated what we wanted to know about the special character of each other's culture as well as of life in general. It was my purpose to understand the Pawnees as people, not as Indians or as social categories and certainly not as historical antiques.

161 Although in the 1920's only seven hundred Pawnees survived, some
178 Pawnee customs remained among them and at least eight of the older peo-
197 ple spoke no other language than Pawnee. The town of Pawnee, Okla-
361 homa, was surrounded by the allotted lands of the Pawnees, the lands of
423 each band being located in a different direction. The bands were still

000

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The bands were still somewhat socially discrete. The mainstay of the diet was largely the traditional corn, beans, and squash grown on their own farm plots and dried and stored as of old. Beef had taken the place of buffalo meat and was prepared by thin slicing and drying for storage or boiled on feast days. Relationships in kin groups continued, and some of the religious ideology survived. A Doctor Dance Ceremony was performed by the last survivors who possessed the arts and the knowledge involved and brought us some welcome rain after a long dry spell. The question was, "How to give these fragments life and place them in their integral context?" We evolved the plan of utilizing one year of Pawnee life in as much detail as possible, covering the round of the year through the four seasons as reconstructed with the help of the surviving Pawnees. Our plan proved to be an effective means of developing vivid recall in Evarts and the other old Pawnees. For a number of reasons we would think of our year hypothetically as 1867; in that year the Pawnee settlement and round of life was sufficiently integral to serve as a base line for our reconstruction. Some of the other surviving Pawnees were in their late teens and twenties in that year. Evarts supplied a normal thread of events in answer to my prodding questions for the details that seemed to a Pawnee all too obvious and we supplemented and checked this with whomever we thought had relevant knowledge concerning one point or another. Most of the old people had worked with me on linguistics before that time.

It was not possible to reproduce the material in the exact order in which I collected it. I have had to reassort the material somewhat so that it falls into some of our own functional categories and at the same time so that it fits within the seasonal round of the year. Under the pressure of time when my notes were recorded I rendered the Pawnee or Pawnee-English in which it was given into the closest normal English equivalent I could muster. Also, this book was compiled a quarter of a century or more after it was recorded. I have avoided altering the original simple declarative language too radically. In some cases I have retained the original language with very little variation, particularly where it is an incident that had often been recounted among the Pawnees, a very familiar situation, a technical account, a speech, a personality sketch. Such passages are indented from the left margin.

In addition to the informant record, I have checked my account in detail with most of the existing material on the Pawnees and in some cases supplemented it from these sources. This is detailed in the Notes and Comments with references correlated with my text. Recently excavated archaeological materials together with eyewitness accounts by contemporary observers of the 1830's and 1840's have overwhelmingly vindicated the accuracy of my Pawnee informants. The most substantial help in this recent phase of the work has been given me by Prof. John L. Champe, author of an important stratigraphic treatment of Nebraska archaeology, *Ash Hol-*

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
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unchecked by a United States torn by Civil War. Then, when the war was over, came the white settlement of their territory and still more conflicts for the land, the water, and the timber. Finally they could stay there no longer; they had to leave their homeland, and they moved south.

The Pawnees were related by language to a people to the south of them, the Wichita, and they often went visiting, some of them remaining for several years in order to learn new ceremonials which they brought home with them when they returned north. As far back as the 1770's a contingent of three hundred Pawnees had gone south and settled permanently there. They were very welcome at this time and every inducement was given to make them stay, as the Wichita were already heavily depleted in numbers by disease and enemy attack; the Pawnee group constitute l a much-needed reinforcement.

In the summer of 1870, just a hundred years later, a Pawnee chief led a visiting party of three hundred men to the Wichita. After their return, subsequent parties went down in successive years and were made welcome by the Wichitas and other tribes in the area that is now Oklahoma; in 1873, despite many doubts on the part of their chiefs, two-thirds of the Pawnees finally left their Nebraska home and migrated south. By November 1875 the last Pawnee contingent arrived in Oklahoma. Many met their death as a result of the change. Fevers and starvation took such a heavy toll that by 1879 only 1,440 survived, and, by the U.S. census of 1910, just 633 Pawnees remained alive.

The time of my arrival in Oklahoma to do ethnological and linguistic work was 1928, some fifty years after the time the Pawnees had settled there permanently. We did not know then that Pawnee life with its combined settled village life and migratory buffalo hunting was an old way of life on the Plains.

The general opinion among anthropologists was that in the not too distant past earth-lodge peoples such as the Pawnee had formerly lived in the woodland areas east of the Mississippi and, migrating out onto the Plains, had begun to adopt the migratory life of buffalo hunters and were in the process of abandoning their settled ways.

Archaeology has since shown us that the combination of migratory and sedentary village life is much older in the Plains than we had thought and that, far from being in transition, the ancestors of the Pawnees had probably followed a similar way of life in Nebraska for nearly seven hundred years. Archaeological remains of earth-lodge villages are found along the Republican, Platte, and Loup rivers, a progressive evolution of the houses from rectangular to round appearing with the passage of time. The houses and the remains of objects and food found in the archaeological settlements show such a clear continuity into historic times that their identification as ancestral Pawnee is well nigh inevitable.

In 1867 the four bands into which the Pawnee were politically organ-

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5, 79 James R. Murie, 1914, pp. 550-551, lists the names of thirteen villages, each of which he states had a sacred bundle, excepting the thirteenth, *Turawiu*, which was part of a village. The village names are:

1) *Turikaku* (Center Village), Evening Star bundle
2) *Kitkehaxpakuxtu* (Old Village), the four semicardinal direction bundles
3) *Tuhitspiat* (Stretching-Out-in-the-Bottomlands)
4) *Tukitskita* (Village-on-Branch-of-a-River)
5) *Tuwahukasa* (Village-Stretching-across-a-Hill), the Morning Star bundle (This bundle was divided into two.)
6) *Arikararikutsu* (Big-Antlered-Elk-Standing)
7) *Arikarariki* (Small-Antlered-Elk-Standing)
8) *Tuhutsaku* (Village-in-a-Ravine), the left hand bundle (All use left hands in the ceremony.)
9) *Tuwarakaku* (Village-in-Thick-Timber)
10) *Akapaxtsawa* (Buffalo-Skull-Painted-on-Tipi), Black Star bundle
11) *Tskisarikus* (Fish-Hawk) (Bundle buried with White Hawk.)
12) *Tstiks-kaatit* (Black-Ear-of-Corn), meaning corn-black
13) *Turawiu*, part of a village.

These were the known member villages of the Skidi political federation. According to tradition, two villages did not join—Pahukstatu (Pumpkin-Vine) and Tskirirara (Wolf-Standing-in-Water). These two villages survived into the time of our narrative together with only two of the other thirteen, numbers 3 and 5, Tuhitspiat and Tuwahukasa. Tu- is the prefix signifying village or settlement; eight of Murie's thirteen are village names, seven of them beginning with this prefix and indicating a location, the eighth, number 2, meaning Old-Earth-Lodge Village. Four are animal names, and one, a corn name.

5 In the article by Levy and Fallers, 1959, the authors comment on departures from our working model of the "nuclear" or "biological" family, questioning whether it is in fact as basic as we assume. I suggest that our working model of family life stems from the Adam and Eve story and that of the Pawnee from their interpretation of the cosmos and the nature of human life which derives from it. This fundamental difference in our viewpoints does not depend on an ignorance on the part of the Pawnees of the basic fact of physiological paternity. They believed that conception took place as a result of the combination of a male and a female substance similar to egg white in consistency—red in the case of the female and white in that of the male.

52 The "worm" love song adapted from Dunbar, 1881, p. 745

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

65 Pawnee text version of making "beans-inside" bread, Weltfish, 1937, pp. 37-38.

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21, 62 In the settlement near Fremont, Nebraska (Pahaku), the oldest brother of the three, Rotten House, and Sitting Hawk, the second oldest, and Victory Call, the youngest, established a huge earth lodge, 90 feet in diameter with two sets of central pillars, concentrically arranged. In it he assembled a large group of "brothers," most of them doctors.

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14-15 The integrity of the account of Pawnee life obtained from informants by the field ethnologist is clearly validated by the account of an eyewitness, the missionary Samuel Allis, 1887, who lived with the Skidi in Old Village more than a hundred years before this record was made. He comments on the efficiency with which the domestic arrangements operate:

> [H]e lives with her in her father's lodge. It is customary for a young man to marry in a family, and if there is more than one daughter, he takes the oldest and so on as fast as they mature and gives a horse for each additional wife. In this way one sometimes gets as many as six or seven wives. They are like the Mormons in some ways. The oldest wife is "Sister Young" or "Sister Kimball" and so on and is mistress of the lodge. Each woman, however, has her own bundle of meat, corn, etc. and takes her turn in cooking; and the lord sleeps by turns in different parts of the lodge to avoid jealousy. Some of them have their women in different lodges and own a share in each lodge. In this way they fare better. *They have so much system in cooking, dressing robes, cornfields and other work that they get along better than one would suppose.*•

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This outlook on the fluidity of the division of labor was not confined to the Pawnees. Wolf Chief, an old man of the Hidatsa tribe, a Siouan group of North Dakota, stated in 1910, "In my tribe in old times, some men helped their wives in their gardens. Others did not. Those who did not help their wives talked against those who did saying, 'That man's wife makes him her servant!' And others retorted, 'Look, that man puts all the hard work on his wife!' " "Men were not all alike; some did not like to work in the garden at all, and cared for nothing but to go around visiting or to be off on a hunt. My father Small Ankle liked to garden and often helped his wives. He told me that was the best way to do. 'Whatever you do,' he said, 'help your wife in all things!' He taught me to clean the garden, to help gather the corn, to hoe and to rake. My father said that that man lived best and had plenty to eat who helped his wife. One who did not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wilson, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.)

• Italics mine.

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not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wilson, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.) 000

On the winter hunt, Uncle War Cry, head brave of the Skidis, considered the most aggressive personality in the tribe, did not hesitate to thin and dry the buffalo meat pending the arrival of the women of his family. The taunts of the other men did not affect him (see p. 435). The desirability of helping one's wife was also stated in connection with harvesting (see pp. 242, 244). Taking all of the Americas, in the more highly developed civilizations—Peru, Mexico, and Central America and the southwestern Pueblos—men did the gardening; basketry was made by the men among some of the Amazon tribes; and among the southwestern Pueblo peoples, some were made by men some by women. 462 251 462 171

57 On the Comanche version of the "kick" game, see Wallace and Hoebel, 1952, general account pp. 8-14, specific reference p. 9. 000

63-64 On the analogy between the cosmic universe outside and the inside of the earth lodge, see Fletcher, 1904, pp. 325-326, "The sun's ray has walked around the lodge and touched all within, then climbs out and rests upon the tops of the hills that stand as a wall and inclose as a lodge the abode of the people." 342 772

64 On the kindness and closeness of the cosmic gods see the song sung by Effie Blane—"The Thunder Spoke Quietly" (Densmore, 1929, p. 61). "A certain young man was afraid of the storm and wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder spoke softly and said, 'Do not be afraid, your father is coming.'" He heard the thunder sing a song and learned it and sang it when he went to war. His name was Eagle, and he lived to be one of the old warriors of the tribe. (See McDermott, 1940, for Tixier's account.) Tixier remarks on the Osage report of the courage of the Pawnee warrior (p. 223): "Dark stormy nights are the ones the Pawnee choose by preference to attack." In 1954 on a visit to Pawnee, Oklahoma, I was watching television with my old friend, Mrs. Blanche Matlock, when a thunderstorm broke. She remarked that the Pawnees were not afraid of the storm," on the contrary they were part of it and went out into it. 796 539 787 821 157 821 721 1140 821

68, 238, 268-270 On the European Neolithic food pit, see Burkitt, 1924, p. 7. On archaeological examples of Pawnee food pits, see Wedel, 1936, pp. 53-54. An early Linwood site has a pit 11 feet deep and 10 feet across the bottom. "All (historic and protohistoric examples) are of the usual bell shape . . . with smooth beaten walls, curving evenly downward and outward from the mouth, a slightly depressed, usually bark-covered floor. Sand was present beneath the bark in at least four of the caches opened at the Hill site." See also Hodge, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 178-179; Vol. II, pp. 172 251

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through its four elements, clouds, winds, lightning and thunder, is personified into a single gigantic personality, Paruksti, who makes a tour of the newly created world for the gods, his footsteps being carefully noted in the most minute detail." In Thompson, p. 171, the world is created in terms of a personified First Day who makes an extensive journey afoot over the land.

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82 Toothed vagina "like the mouth of a rattlesnake," Dorsey, 1906, p. 41. See Bogoras, 1902, p. 667, for wider distribution of this theme.

83, 152, 154-155 Buckstaff, 1927, is well illustrated with diagrams and a photograph of the Pawnee Star Chart in the Chicago Museum. He states (p. 285): "The Indians recognized the constellations as we do, also the important stars, drawing them according to their magnitude." Double stars were also shown as well as constellations. Astronomical analysis is included in the article.

84, 117 On the sacrifice of Haxti, the Oglala Sioux girl, see de Smet, 1905, pp. 974-987; Thwaites, Vol. 27, pp. 209-210; George E. Hyde, 1951, p. 164, based largely on Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, Vol. V, p. 77, footnote, also Vol. IV, p. 50. See also, Von Hagen, 1958, p. 98, where it is noted that after the seventeenth month, "they repaired to Cuauhtitlan, where the prisoners of war were

111 lashed to scaffolds, after the manner of the Pawnee of the western plains and killed with arrows." Note Grinnell's, 1925, pp. 363-369, description of such a prisoner sacrifice. Wissler and Spinden,

117 1916, p. 54, show one of the drawings in the *Codex Porfirio Diaz* representing scaffold sacrifice, the manuscript preserved in the National Museum of Mexico City and attributed to the Cuicatecan

319 tribe of the State of Guerrero. They estimate that the time must have been between 1506 and 1519—1506 when it appears in the Aztec codices for the first time and 1519 when the arrival of the Spaniards 'cut off abruptly the ancient religious rites of the

330 Mexicans . . ." (p. 55). See Irving's, 1955, pp. 184-188, account of sacrifice of a Cheyenne woman captive, especially the annotated footnotes.

84 Murie-Wissler manuscript, pp. 442-428, claims that after the new corn plant (*kurahus*, priest) was gathered in the spring, a new-fire ceremony was held and that the people let their fire die out and cleared out the ashes. The people are said to have gone off to a place where they made a new fire ceremony (p. 431). They state it was connected with a scalp ritual. I have no record of such a ceremony.

97 The only explanation of the use of loon necks and deer heads as hoeing implements in the *Awari* or Ground-breaking ceremony is possibly the statement of Will and Hyde, 1917, p. 269, that

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114 122 197 THE BULK OF THE MATERIAL presented in this book is based on the original field data I collected from Pawnee informants in Oklahoma. It is the only material on the Pawnees that was gathered with a full knowledge of the nature of the Pawnee language. The Pawnee language cannot be readily translated into English. Structurally it is one of the most complex of the American Indian languages. In place of single discrete words, a structural form known as polysynthesis was developed to an unusual degree. In normal discourse there are long composite word units comprising a wide range of functional elements—verbal, prepositional, adjectival, pronominal, and modal—each capable of a range of modifications, the whole complex being phonetically integrated so that a single word of inseparable elements contains the meaning of a long phrase or sentence in English commonly only translatable into five or six separate English words. Although a single word phrase of this sort may have ten or eleven syllables, it is not possible to assign an equivalent English word under each syllable. The meaning can only be stated as a whole. By careful comparison of a large number of these phrases, it is possible to find the various locations within the phrase that have different functions and to extract elements with generalized meanings. Those interested may refer to my Pawnee text with its grammatical analysis: "The Vision Story of Fox Boy," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, IX No. 1 (1936), 44-75.

114 159 In the last decade of the nineteenth century, an educated half-blood Pawnee, James R. Murie, made it his life purpose to present the religious rituals and ceremonies of his people. He carried forward this work under the stimulation and direction of a number of anthropologists, continuing through the first and second decades of the twentieth century. He spanned both cultures—the Pawnee and the American. To some extent this was a major advantage, while in other ways it was an important obstacle to the accomplishment of his true purpose. The most obvious advantage was his direct entrée to the religious leaders of his people. The disadvantage lay in the fact that he had a preconceived idea of how the material should be presented to the American reader and scholar in order to place it before them in the best possible light. There was little need for such a self-conscious effort as Pawnee religion and ceremony would do credit to any people ideologically and aesthetically as a system of thought and practice. Secondly, because Murie had shared in both cultures before he came to the decision to embrace his Pawnee identity, he never fully shared in its systems of belief. In his later years he attempted to obtain a religious vision and to enter more fully into Pawnee religious life, but he failed and remained by and large a participant observer, not a full participant. His preconceived idea of the nature of translation, particularly of the interlinear variety, stood in the way of his making an authentic translation of the Pawnee materials he wrote

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down in the phonetic alphabet which he acquired in the course of his contact with anthropologists. He divided his recorded texts into single syllables, each comprising a consonant and a vowel and each syllable separated from the next by a hyphen and then placed an English word under each of these syllables. As I have already indicated, the Pawnee language cannot be translated into English in that manner. Any material will suffer some distortion when it is translated from one language to another, but the nuances of religious ideology are even more strongly effected by this process.

Murie's crowning effort to systematize the religion of his people was carried out under the direction and editorship of the late Clark Wissler, curator of anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. Together Wissler and Murie produced a voluminous manuscript of some 1560 pages. In view of the recognized inadequacies of Murie's Pawnee transcription and translation, in 1930 Matthew W. Stirling, then Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology in Washington, D.C., where the manuscript had been deposited some years before, commissioned me to retranscribe all the Pawnee texts contained there with the help of my Pawnee linguistic informants and to obtain a linguistically adequate translation. The texts were reviewed with my informants and translated with the help of my interpreter, Henry Chapman, in 1930–1931 in Pawnee, Oklahoma. The manuscript is now on deposit in the archives of the bureau. It is titled "The Ceremonies of the Pawnee," by James R. Murie, arranged and edited by Clark Wissler, 1921. Phonetic texts revised and translated by Gene Weltfish, 1930–1931.

The second most important source on Pawnee ceremonialism is: "The Hako: A Pawnee Ceremony," by Alice C. Fletcher, assisted by James R. Murie. This was published in the *Twenty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*. The author, Alice Fletcher, is listed in the publication as Holder of Thaw Fellowship, Peabody Museum, Harvard University. Miss Fletcher was a trained ethnologist who went into the field to work with the Omaha and Ponca Indians in Nebraska in 1881 when she was in her forties. She several times witnessed the ceremony of the peace pipe or calumet among these tribes and others in the area, but as a result of the death of the only man who could furnish her with an authentic account of the ceremony she searched among other tribes and found that an account of a comparable ceremony would be obtainable among the Pawnees. She then went to Oklahoma where she contacted Mr. James Murie and began the work which was done over a period of four years. The term Hako which appears as the title of this work is not the Pawnee name for this ceremony. The term means mouth, *aka'u*, and is the comprehensive term used to designate all the articles that belong to the ceremony. A number of other terms are used for the ceremony itself. The author decided to use this title as a convenient designation that could readily be pronounced by the English reader. The beauty of patterning and the intricacy of the structure of the ceremony are well represented, but the translation of the Pawnee texts is ludicrous. The bulk of the linguistic texts are the words of ritual songs. A great deal of this material consists of rhythmic syllables that have no semantic significance whatever with one or two simple words included among them. Often the successive stanzas consist in a repetition of these rhythmic syllables, the single words being re-

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• 114 113 placed by one or two others. The author translates these Pawnee texts into florid mid-Victorian-style English poetry, every meaningless rhythmic syllable receiving her attention with a new flight of fancy. It appears that she must have zealously pressed James R. Murie for translations of each syllable and no doubt liberally interpreted the terms he did give her. On his part, Murie must also have felt the need to press these texts into acceptable English poetry of the period. In any case because of these circumstances, The *Hako* can only be used very critically as a source.

The second anthropologist to work extensively with James R. Murie was George A. Dorsey, who did this work as part of a more ambitious project. [197] Pawnee is one member of a language family, the Caddoan stock, of which there are three other major members—Arikara, Wichita, and Caddo. Dorsey procured mythology from the four different member groups of the Caddoan stock. Dorsey was Curator of Anthropology of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago under whose auspices the work was begun and then continued with the support of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C. He produced two book length publications on the Pawnee, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee* ("American Folklore Society Memoirs," Vol. VIII), Boston and New York, 1904, and *The Pawnee, Mythology*, published by the ("Carnegie Institution of Washington Publications," No. 59), Washington, 1906. A body of unpublished material supplied to Dorsey by Murie remains in the archives of the Chicago Museum of Natural History. Subsequent curators at that institution have published from this source.

A series of pamphlets by Ralph Linton: *The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Leaflets," No. 5), Chicago, 1922; *The Sacrifice to the Morning Star* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Leaflets," No. 6), Chicago, 1922; *Purification of the Sacred Bundles, A Ceremony of the Pawnee* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Leaflets," No. 7), Chicago, 1923; *Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Leaflets," No. 8), Chicago, 1923.

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While Murie was working in New York, he prepared under Clark Wissler's direction, *Pawnee Indian Societies* ("American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers," Vol. XI, Part VII), New York, 1914, pp. 545-644. Wissler very generously inhibited his identity from his publication, appearing simply as "the editor." He states that the work "was prepared by James R. Murie, a member of the Skidi division, under the direction of the editor who is in the main responsible for its form and limitations. Mr. Murie's method was to collect and write out in full such information on the several topics as could be secured. These notes were then made the subject of several conferences with the editor during which the present manuscript was prepared." The large manuscript on the ceremonies of the Pawnee as well as the manuscript material in the Chicago Museum of Natural History must have been prepared in a 114 similar fashion. My own work with my informants on the manuscript, "The Ceremonies of the Pawnee," made it possible for me to limit the amount of material I had to gather on the formal aspects of Pawnee religion and ceremony

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and permitted me to concentrate on the personalities involved and the way they functioned within the pattern. Death claimed James R. Murie before my work began, and I never had the good fortune of meeting him. 114

In the years since the late 1930's I have read a great deal of material on the Pawnees. I visited the archaeological sites, read the literature, and consulted with the outstanding archaeologists in the field. I also worked with historical sources at the Nebraska Historical Society in Lincoln, Nebraska. In addition I have given considerable thought to a number of expanded horizons for our own future that are suggested through a consideration of the Pawnee way of life. I have listed a number of bibliographic items that refer to these different facets of interest, listing them under four categories—archaeological material, ethnology, historical sources, related subjects and theoretical questions. I will not make specific references to my text in connection with these publications as the presentation in this book represents a synthesis of all these sources along with my own. [22]

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